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Tomasik, Martin J ; Silbereisen, Rainer K

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RUNNING HEAD: SOCIAL CHANGE AND DEVELOPMENTAL TASKS

Social Change and Adolescent Developmental Tasks:

The Case of Post-Communist Europe

Martin J. Tomasik and Rainer K. Silbereisen

Center for Applied Developmental Science at the University of Jena, Germany

## Abstract

The radical political transformations of the 1990s in many countries of Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, overlaid by effects of globalization and related economic crises, ~~h~~has ~~ave~~ had an ~~influence~~ effect on young people, particularly by changing contexts relevant for psychosocial development. According to research on major developmental tasks in adolescence, ~~the~~ young people benefited from new freedoms, such as the open borders and advanced communication technologies, but they ~~were~~ also ~~confronted~~ with faced new economic uncertainties concerning work and family for which they have tried to compensate by postponing traditional transitions to adulthood. Nevertheless, results show that the nature of the developmental tasks was not ~~at~~ in jeopardy and that effects on development overall were moderate. ~~The~~ This article reviews the research ~~discussed is viewed~~ against the backdrop of a general model on how change at the macro level translates into individual adaptation in societies affected by the challenges of globalization, individualization, and demographic shifts.

## Social Change and Adolescent Developmental Tasks:

### The Case of Post-Communist Europe

The political transformation resulting from the breakdown of communism in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) and the successor states of the USSR (now the Commonwealth of Independent States or CIS) were followed by more gradual challenges linked to globalization (Bitzenis & Marangos, 2007). One particularly important effect of this social change has been immense unemployment stemming from the restructuring of low-productive economies (Amsden, Kochanowicz, & Taylor, 1994). A sharp rise in poverty and social inequality (Milanovic, 1998), the erosion of social benefits due to the reduction of state expenditures (UNDP, 2003), the privatization of social insurance, and a generally reduced public “safety net” (Standing, 1996) have ~~added to~~ worsened the situation.

Social change, as ~~we understood~~ use it here, refers to comprehensive political and economic transformations that substantially rock the ideological underpinnings of societies (Calhoun, 1992). Although it has never been a major concern of psychological research, recent studies have addressed its consequences for individual development (Caldwell, Caldwell, Caldwell, & Pieris, 1998; Larson, 2002; Schoon & Silbereisen, 2009; Silbereisen & Chen, 2010; Silbereisen & Piquart, 2008; Suárez-Orozco & Qin-Hillard, 2004). We have suggested the Jena Model on Social Change and Human Development (Piquart & Silbereisen, 2004; Silbereisen, 2005), which combines Bronfenbrenner’s (1985) notion of developmental contexts with Elder’s (1974) control cycle theory. We postulate that change on the societal level “cascades” down to the individual through various intermediate contexts; we also assume that the effects are ~~not~~ neither immediate ~~and~~ nor uniform across individuals because the challenges are filtered by social welfare institutions (Esping-Andersen, 1996). Individuals experience ~~Societal changes are experienced by individuals~~ as new demands if they perceive a mismatch between behavior that has sufficed in the past and opportunities in the present. These demands then represent the starting point for the individual -level processes

that change individual development through repeated cycles of finding a new balance (for further details on the concept, see Silbereisen, Pinquart, & Tomasik, 2010; Tomasik & Silbereisen, 2009).

An example of the challenge-demand linkage is globalization-related constrictions of the market that coerce employers into passing ~~on~~ the challenges on to their employees (Fenwick & Tausig, 1994), often meaning that those ~~not-protected-by~~ without seniority face a higher risk of layoffs, precarious ~~work~~ contracts, and other forms of occupational uncertainty (Hofäcker, Buchholz, & Blossfeld, 2010). In order to regain control (Tomasik, Silbereisen, & Pinquart, 2010), individuals may engage with the demands (~~e.g., such as by~~ prolonging schooling in order to increase their qualifications), or they may disengage from the demands and use self-protective attributions (~~e.g., such as~~ blaming the economy or engaging in downward social comparisons) to buffer the negative effects of failure (Tomasik & Silbereisen, in press; Tomasik, Silbereisen, & Heckhausen, 2010; ~~Tomasik & Silbereisen, in press~~). Whatever individuals do ~~when-in the face of~~ pressed by demands-, regaining control and developing a constructive response requires personal resources, such as self-efficacy (Pinquart & Silbereisen, 2008a) or optimism (Tomasik, 2010). Our model thus stresses inter-individual differences, which studies comparing different cohorts or regions often disregard ~~when which are often disregarded when comparing different cohorts or regions~~ (see Pinquart & Silbereisen, 2004).

#### //Figure 1//

\_\_\_\_ Although the full Jena Model served as a backdrop for our literature search, for the remainder of this ~~paper-article~~ we will concentrate only on contexts and outcomes only because past research has rarely addressed the concept of cascading effects ~~has been rarely addressed in past research~~. Indeed, there is little research ~~that examines the on the role effect~~ of institutional filtering, resources, and negotiation on adolescent attitudes, behaviors, and relationships directly, and ~~there are~~ few studies ~~that~~ consider genuinely psychological factors,

such as extrinsic-intrinsic motivation (Ryan & Deci, 2000) or action-state orientation (Kuhl & Beckmann, 1994) as predictors of individuals' responses to the demands of social change (but see Silbereisen & Tomasik, 2011). We also have to admit that [the](#) causal inference one can draw from many of the studies is rather weak. It is needless to say that experimental designs in this strand of research are nonexistent. Besides that, hardly any study can provide baseline measures before the onset of social change, [and few -and/or makes-make](#) use of culturally or regionally comparative designs. In addition, almost no psychological studies measures the magnitude of macro change and compares it across different contexts. Such designs are necessary, however, if [we are to disentangle](#) the complex societal processes [are-to-be disentangled](#) and [identify](#) [those processes](#) most relevant for individual adaptation [to-be identified](#).

### Social Change and Developmental Tasks in Adolescence

The immense normative biopsychosocial changes of adolescence make the young open to new experiences, so [that](#) social change has the potential to have both positive and negative effects (Pinquart & Silbereisen, 2005, 2008b). Developmental tasks (Havighurst, 1948/1978), such as planning for an occupation, represent internalized links between individual needs and societal claims (Nurmi, 1993) that gain high subjective relevance, guide motivation and behavior, and show context-specific differences between cultures and historical periods (Nurmi, Poole, & Kalakowski, 1994). The question [forming the focus of this paper at the core of this article](#), therefore, is how social change has affected adolescents' striving for and [resolution-of-resolving of](#) these developmental tasks.

Concerning each developmental task, we begin with relevant contextual changes, [and](#) then present psychologically [-framed](#) studies illuminating the effects of social change. Here, [we use](#) the breakdown of communism in the 1990s, and the subsequent confrontation of the CEE/CIS economies with the challenges of globalization, [is-used](#) as a sample case of comprehensive social change [that affected the lives of many with effects on large populations](#).

We felt it necessary to limit our review to this specific historical period in order to reduce possible heterogeneity that would arise from including and comparing other times (~~e.g.,~~ such as reconstruction in Europe after 1945) ~~and places or cultures~~ such as economic reforms in East Asia (~~e.g., East Asia with its recent economic reforms~~).

### *Relationships with Age Mates*

With the breakdown of ~~the sole reign of~~ communism in CEE/CIS, the various youth organizations, ~~which were~~ characterized by high levels of supervision and structure and meant to serve the goal of political homogenization at the expense of individuality (Karpati, 1996; Pastuovic, 1993), were almost immediately dissolved or lost their relevance (Flanagan, Bowes, Jonsson, Csapo, & Sheblanova, 1998). ~~As with the a~~ consequence ~~that,~~ informal settings became more important (Kjulanov, Balanski, Zagorova, & Popova, 1991). This trend has been considered a reaction to the dissolving world of adults in which former authorities were displaced and discredited. ~~In this way~~ Consequently As a result, a large variety of new youth groups independent from state control ~~also~~ emerged and became important foci for socialization in youth values, attitudes, and preferences ~~of youth~~ (Stock, 1994; Wallace & Kovacheva, 1996).

Over the past two decades, the spread of communication technologies has been extremely important for adolescents' peer relationships (Eurostat, 2005), particularly in the CEE/CIS region, where former limited geographical mobility had constrained adolescent relationships. New developments, such as on-line social networks, have offered adolescents the possibility to expand the size and composition of their social network-peer group (Mesch & Talmud, 2010). For example, research has shown adolescents' on-line networks to be less homogeneous ~~compared to~~ than their off-line relations (Blanchard & Horan, 1998; Wellman & Giulia, 1999; Wellman, Haase, Witte, & Hampton, 2001).

~~A further consequence of political and economic transformation was that~~  
a Adolescents' lifestyles and values have also shifted towards consumerism (Mitev & Riordan,

1996; Ule & Renner, 1998). Ger and Belk (1996) found ~~the highest~~ higher endorsement of materialist values in CEE countries ~~than in~~, ~~compared to~~ the U.S. or Western Europe, and even shortly after the political transition (Owen, 1993), most teens in CEE/CIS could recognize popular Western brands, such as Pepsi-~~Cola~~ or Nike. Longitudinal data gathered before and after German unification indeed suggests that the transition to capitalism had substantially provoked materialism (Ger & Belk, 1990). Pyšňáková and Miles (2010) argue that growing consumerism in post-communist countries reflects emancipation from conventional roles and constraints concerning class or family relationships, whereas Ger, Belk, and Nicoletta-Lascu (1993) more convincingly attribute the rise in materialism to relative deprivation in the past and the emergence of new consumption opportunities after the economic transformation.

### *Independence from Parents*

In many CEE/CIS countries, ~~as the~~ responsibility between family and state concerning socialization shifted ~~in favor of to~~ families (Ritter, 2006), which has made gaining autonomy from parents a more individualized ~~and a less institutionalized~~ developmental task. However, the family itself is also vulnerable to social change (Silbereisen & Tomasik, 2011). Noack, Hofer, Kracke, and Klein-Allermann (1995) found that after German unification, perceived economic hardship due to the ~~the~~ surge of unemployment in ~~Eastern~~ Germany negatively affected the quality of family relations, which in turn was negatively associated with the psychosocial adaptation of family members.

The effects of social change, however, usually do not straightforwardly cascade from ~~the~~ macro to micro level ~~in a straightforward way~~. For example, Forkel and Silbereisen (2001) found that economic hardship in Germany translated into depressed mood for adolescents in the West, but not in the formerly communist East. ~~They interpreted these~~ These regional differences ~~were interpreted~~ as rooted in the personal attribution of the causes of hardship, whereby those in the East, ~~hardship was seen~~ saw hardship as a failure of the Western



economic system, not as a personal responsibility. In this vein, Pinquart, Silbereisen, and Körner (2009, 2010) showed that the demands of social change in work and family life had weaker associations with well-being in economically ~~difficult~~ troubled regions of East Germany ~~as compared to~~ than in more prosperous regions.

~~It is also known that an a~~ Associations between parental unemployment and social change may affect the timing of adolescents' autonomy. For example, Silbereisen, Reitzle, and Juang (2002) found such a link between parental unemployment ~~of parents related to the~~ due to economic transformation and the postponement of their offspring's financial independence and leaving home. By comparing ~~same-aged cohorts of~~ adolescents of the same age in 1991 and 1996, Haase, Silbereisen, and Reitzle (2008) found a delay in personal transitions, such as first visiting a discotheque or being ~~in charge~~ responsible for household chores. They viewed this delay ~~in these transitions was seen~~ as rooted partly in mothers' retreat into the family in response to rising unemployment.

#### *Preparation for a Career*

The domain of work in CEE/CIS countries has been substantially influenced by the transition to market liberalism and by globalization, with labor markets increasingly characterized by greater competition and rising youth unemployment (Roberts, 2001).

Greenan, Kalugina, and Walkowiak (2007) have also shown that jobs in the new Eastern member states of the European Union in 1995 and 2005 were on average considerably less complex (in terms of cognitive abilities necessary, self-directedness, task diversity, ~~ete~~ and so on) when compared to countries in Western Europe. Young people in CEE/CIS have reacted to the increased structural uncertainty (Blossfeld, Klijzing, Kurz, & Mills, 2005; Mills & Blossfeld, 2009) by postponing the transition to work and investing in further education, as did their Western counterparts when under similar pressures (Schoon, Ross, & Martin, 2009). According to World Bank data, enrollment in tertiary education in Poland rose from 17% in ~~(1985)~~ to 67% in ~~(2007)~~. The latter percentage is comparable to that in Western countries and

quite understandable, ~~as because~~ educational attainment is a predictor of success in working life (Malmberg & Trempała, 1997; Pinquart, Juang, & Silbereisen, 2004b).

Adolescents were also quick ~~in adjusting to~~ adjust their occupational goals to ~~the~~ new opportunities and constraints (Christmas-Best & Schmitt-Rodermund, 2001). Just after unification, East German adolescents were especially interested in occupations ~~not~~ unavailable under the old system, ~~(e.g., such as~~ in the travel or fashion industries), but this vanished once they ~~were confronted with~~ faced the reality of a severe economic depression (Akerlof, Rose, Yellen, & Hessenius, 1991). This is in line with Western research, which usually observes a quick adaptation of occupational goals to opportunity structures in the career choice process (see, for example, Super, 1951).

Often unable to find satisfactory employment, young people in CEE/CIS have started to define themselves as being in a permanent transition (Roberts, 2001). Macek, Bejček, and Vaníčková (2007) demonstrated that ~~about approximately~~ two-thirds of Czechs aged 18 ~~to~~ 27 years regard themselves as being *in between* adolescence and young adulthood, and similar results are available for Romania (Nelson, 2009). Data ~~gathered from~~ before the political transformation ~~are~~ is not unavailable, but it is plausible to assume that the figures were ~~not as high lower~~ under ~~the communist rule communism, which when predetermined~~ educational, occupational, and tenure transitions were predetermined for all ~~members of the society~~ citizens. In support of this, Reitzle (2006, 2007) reported delays in the transition to adulthood for East German adolescents after unification, especially among ~~non-college~~ youth not enrolled in college, which stands in sharp contrast to the “normal biography” under the old regime that ~~—in fact at the expense of individual choice—~~ guaranteed occupational training and a secure job for everybody, even albeit at the expense of individual choice (Reitzle & Silbereisen, 2000b).

Feeling ~~in~~ between life stages, however, does not necessarily mean that young people feel out of control, ~~as~~ Puuronen, Sinisalo, Miljokova, and Shvets (2000) showed ~~in a study~~

~~where that~~ youth from the former USSR had higher internal locus of control than their Western counterparts. Similarly, Grob, Little, Wanner, Waering, and the Euronet group (1996) reported higher levels of perceived control among individuals in CEE that underwent a political transformation ~~as compared to than in the~~ more stable Western countries. ~~The reason for these findings~~ The reason for these findings may be that young people in CEE have experienced a vast expansion of personal freedoms ~~as compared to the past~~ (Grob et al., 1996; but see Klicperová, Feierabend, & Hofstetter, 1997; Macek & Marková, 2004). Although ~~one cannot one cannot~~ rule out ~~that the possibility that~~ these regional differences existed ~~already~~ the past, it is more likely-plausible to assume that they reflect the “quasiexperimental changes that have occurred in these natural contexts” (Grob et al., 1996, p. 793; for additional evidence, see also Varnum, 2008).

#### *Preparation for Own Family*

Throughout the CEE/CIS region, young people today enter into marriage and parenthood later than they did under communism: they are cohabiting more often, as reflected by the increased rates of cohabitation (Katus, Purr, & Sakkeus, 2005; Róbert & Bukodi, 2005) and staying in the older age of leaving their parents' homes longer delay leaving the family home (Kynčilová, 2009). To some degree, this reflects a trend toward Western norms (Roberts, Osadchaya, Dsuzev, Gorodyanenko, & Tholen, 2003; Juang, Silbereisen, & Wiesner, 1999), but is also related to uncertainty concerning future labor-market success. However, a delay in a transition does not mean a lessening of its importance ~~Delaying a transition, however, does not necessarily imply that it loses importance.~~ Malmberg and Trempała (1997) found no differences in the relevance of family-related goals between adolescents from Poland, who faced the change of a political system, and who faced the change of a political system and adolescents those from Finland, who lived in a relatively stable society. This finding is supported by Liberska (2002), who analyzed goal orientations before, during, and after the Poland's transition transition of Poland and concluded that

founding a family has been and still is one of the ~~most~~ central goals of young people. In other words, in spite of the pragmatic difficulties for family formation, such as securing an income (Frejka, 2009; Sobotka, 2004) or finding a home of one's own (Czapiński, 1995), political transformation has not ~~really~~ substantially changed the importance of these goals.

### *Socially Responsible Behavior*

The cohort of young people who grew up under communism experienced relatively few opportunities to practice open public debate (Csepeli, German, Geri, & Stumpf, 1994; Karpati, 1996). ~~Nevertheless, t~~The new political opportunities that emerged around 1990 instigated powerful movements of young people that led to the so called “color revolutions” (~~i.e.~~, peaceful civil resistance against the communist regime; Ó Beacháin & Polese, 2010). After the initial euphoria of change, however, youth in CEE/CIS countries have ~~shown declining-been less~~ interested in party politics and ~~have grown distant from growing distance to~~ social institutions (Kovacheva, 2000; Magun, 1996, cited in Roberts, 2003).

The desire of many CEE/CIS youth to go abroad may represent a particular threat to citizenship, ~~but-and~~ this “exit strategy” (Hirschman, 1993) is still salient for many youth in these countries. ~~As~~ Ådnanes (2004) reported ~~ed that~~, one in four of Bulgarian students wanted to emigrate. ~~Such-These~~ plans were often triggered by ~~the-wish-desire~~ to participate in Western consumer culture and ~~by~~ a critical view of their home country’s political situation. In addition, ~~better opportunities for finding work-work opportunities~~ abroad, especially ~~in combination with a highly constrained-when the~~ local labour market ~~is constrained~~ (White, 2009, 2010a, 2010b), makes migration a possible “livelihood strategy” (Iglicka, 2001; Olwig & Sørensen, 2002) ~~for which-that~~ many young people start preparing for ~~already~~ during adolescence by, for instance, learning foreign languages. The fact that the proportion of Polish youth able to speak English rose from about 40% in 1996 to 80% in 2008 ~~is~~ particularly ~~supportive-supports of~~ this argument (White, 2010b).

### *Values as Guide to Behavior*

Many researchers allege that young people in post-communist societies have become demoralized, hopeless, and desperate, and that they have abandoned all moral standards (see Roberts, 2003). Other surveys, however, qualify this very pessimistic view (Varlamova, Noskova, & Sedova, 2008). For example, ~~it has been shown that~~, despite some change, studies reveal ~~there is~~ stability in many core traditional values (Boski, 1994; Ciecuch, 2007; Varlamova et al., 2008), and ~~that~~ the degree to which young people endorse materialism ~~is endorsed~~ is a function of the macroeconomic situation. Further, Olson et al. (2006) showed that simply wanting a job with good financial returns is associated with poorer economic conditions, whereas wanting a career for intrinsic reasons is associated with a country's economic prosperity.

Reitzle and Silbereisen (2000a) analyzed trends toward Western values in East Germany between 1991 and 1996. In 1991, participants in the East more strongly endorsed collectivist values (such as family safety or respect for tradition), whereas participants from the West endorsed individualist values (such as freedom or social power) more strongly. These differences were attenuated towards ~~more~~ individualism in the 1996 cohort, especially among younger participants who were still in school. ~~One possible explanation of this~~ This shift might be due to changes in parenting beliefs and practices that primarily affected younger children. Data related to ~~the~~ economic reforms in China suggest that changes in parenting have an important influence on changes in children's values (Chen & Chen, 2010). Parents adjust their socialization goals to ~~those ones~~ they consider adaptive and desirable under ~~the new~~ economic and societal conditions ~~of the economy~~, such as the growing share of private enterprises (Chen & French, 2008). East Germany also saw an ~~a~~ Adjustment of socialization goals towards ~~more autonomy~~ also took place in Eastern Germany, but. ~~This~~ this adjustment, ~~however,~~ was not linear. Immediately after unification, 54% of East German parents named "autonomy and free will" ~~were named by 54% of all East German parents~~ as their primary socialization goal, whereas only 5% endorsed "obedience and submission" ~~was~~

~~endorsed by only 5%~~ (Scheller, 2005). ~~In By~~ 1998, 49% of ~~the East Germans~~ parents endorsed autonomy and ~~as many as~~ 15% voted for obedience, ~~and by~~. ~~Nevertheless, later in~~ 2001 ~~57%~~ ~~named~~ autonomy ~~was named by 57% of East German parents whereas~~ ~~and but~~ only 1% named obedience as most important.

However, as we know from Kağıtçıbaşı (2005), autonomy can take many paths and ~~can~~ be expressed differently according to cultural context. In Turkey, for instance, the value of autonomy has gained importance without jeopardizing the traditional value of relatedness, ~~leading to the emergence of so that~~ a unique constellation of individualism and collectivism ~~emerged~~ (for similar examples from other contexts, see Nelson & Chen, 2007; ~~Uplaonkar, 1995~~; Suárez-Orozco, 2004; ~~Uplaonkar, 1995~~; Zhang & Fuligni, 2006). Mastering this balance between the new and the old, however, is by no means easy (Greenfield, 1994). Furthermore, our model suggests that the process takes time to evolve, so that the question is how much time is needed until a new balance between demands and new adaptation is achieved. A comparison with the pace of acculturation of immigrants might provide an informed guess. Here, studies show that whereas adaptation related to everyday needs ~~is accomplished~~ ~~occurs~~ rather quickly (Birman & Tricket, 2001), it may take more than a generation for values to change (Su, Richardson, & Wang, 2010).

### Conclusions

Political transformations, such as those ~~seen in that occurred in~~ CEE/CIS, in combination with economic globalization, translate into societal changes that can have various effects on adolescents' accomplishment of developmental tasks. ~~A series of cascaded changes in context affects opportunities for resolving developmental tasks, which results in a mismatch between~~ ~~The opportunities for resolving developmental tasks are affected through a series of cascaded changes of contexts that result in a mismatch between~~ the new and the old. As ~~we have has been~~ shown, ~~one way some of~~ people in former communist countries resolve ~~ing~~ this mismatch ~~has been to by~~ ~~delaying~~ the transition from school to work. Social

and economic change, of course, also provides youth with new opportunities for mastering developmental tasks, and ~~there was an enormous the increased increase in~~ freedom of choice concerning virtually all aspects of life in CEE/CIS ~~was enormous~~ (Freedom House, 2010). Indeed, the vast majority of people from this region look back approvingly at the collapse of communism and endorses the emergence ~~of~~ a free--market economy (Pew Global Attitudes Project, 2009). This ~~can be taken as an indicator may indicate~~ that past frictions within the societies (~~e.g., such as~~ -between the ideological standards of the communist regimes and the everyday life experiences of the individuals, see Schmidt, 2010) have been reduced and that ~~there are generally more~~ opportunities for achieving developmental goals ~~are now generally better than in the past. However, p~~ Predicting who will be trapped by the challenge of social change and who will capitalize on the benefits is a fascinating research question, ~~but~~ we have ~~not~~ been ~~unable~~ to address ~~it~~ here, primarily ~~due to because there are insufficient a lack of~~ relevant studies, ~~although s~~ Some research, ~~however,~~ has shown that higher levels of pre-transformation self-efficacy are helpful in overcoming the new demands (Pinquart, Juang, & Silbereisen, 2004a, 2004b; Titma & Tuma, 2005; Titma, Tuma, & Roots, 2007).

The main result of the studies ~~we~~ reported was that ~~it was~~ the changes of contexts, ~~—~~ such as work, family, and leisure ~~that —~~ translated the macro level effects of societal transformation to the micro level for adolescents. However, the very nature of developmental tasks was not ~~at in~~ jeopardy, and the changes in opportunities and psychosocial outcomes were often moderate. Overall, young people managed ~~well in seizing to seize~~ new opportunities and ~~utilizing utilize their~~ new freedoms. Unfortunately, though, they were caught by a situation on the macro level characterized by a growing uncertainty and even economic recession ~~in all parts of the world worldwide~~, so ~~that~~ many of the changes seem to be shaped by the negative effects of globalization.

Another result was that we did not see new developmental tasks emerging as a consequence of the political transformation, but ~~there were~~ certainly ~~changes in~~ the nature of

pre-transformation developmental tasks—including timing, specific content, and sequence across the lifespan—~~was changed concerning timing, specific content, and sequence across the life-span~~. This relative continuity is actually not surprising, because the affected societies ~~affected~~ build on credentials earned by gainful employment, with the family as a core institution of social life, and these principles did not change.

The question remains whether and how the findings obtained from the unique historical situation of Europe after 1989 can be generalized to other types of current and future social change ~~happening in in~~ other regions of the globe. ~~As~~ Because the scope of this article did not permit us to translate this question ~~to be translated~~ into a more general inquiry about universals in human development, we want to approach it ~~by~~ with some brief observations. The reader ~~may~~ might have noted that many of the societal trends we discuss ~~discussed~~ in the context of CEE/CIS are not unique to that region, but ~~can also be found also~~ occur in the more stable societies of North America and in societies that have experienced very rapid economic growth, such as Brazil and India. Growing consumerism and delays in marriage and parenthood, for instance, are characteristic of many societies around the globe. ~~so that~~ Some researchers have therefore suggested subsuming such trends into clusters. For example, Welzel, Inglehart, and Klingemann (2001) distinguish between “modernization, [...] a shift towards liberal and self-expressive values, and [...] [the] move from autocratic to democratic rules” (p. 2), which ~~are phenomena~~ they have observed in many different countries and which ~~which~~ they link to more general principles of human development.

Social change has common themes that result in ~~similar~~ new demands that are similar to those at the core of the Jena Model, thus making it applicable to other settings. We have no reason to assume that the general framework should not hold for other types of macro change beyond the sample case of the political transformation we discussed here. However, there are limitations, as each context is characterized by a unique constellation of opportunities and constraints that influence each other and are thus difficult to ~~thus cannot be easily~~



disentangled. Different instances of social change in other regions and historical periods will differ on the dimensions of pace, intensity, and scope, so ~~that the reactions of~~ individuals reactions will certainly be different. Although ~~the elaboration elaborating on of~~ these differences requires further comparative research, from a developmentalist's point of view it is now easier to ~~can now be better~~ assessed how large-scale social change impinges on adolescent adaptation and development.

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Authors' Note

Martin J. Tomasik, post-doctoral research associate at the Center for Applied Developmental Science at the University of Jena, Germany. Rainer K. Silbereisen, professor at the Department of Developmental Psychology and director of the Center for Developmental Science at the University of Jena, Germany. We are grateful to Verona Christmas-Best and three anonymous reviewers for comments on earlier drafts of this paper. Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Rainer K. Silbereisen, Department of Developmental Psychology, Institute for Psychology, University of Jena, Am Steiger 3/1, D-07743 Jena, Germany.